

# PEACE NEWS

No. 423 July 21, 1944 2d.

## Peace News in the front line!

From a correspondent

DONALD was a nice lad of 18 when he used to buy Peace News from me on the streets of this Midland town.

Then he was conscripted into the Regiment and went to a Scottish town. He insisted on receiving the paper through the post and Fort had its weekly copy of Peace News.

On leave, Donald, in his kilted uniform, would look me up at my usual post for a chat.

His letters to me were always of the finest kind—loathing of war and yet, in his youth, prepared to see it through. Then for some weeks, with the rumours of the Second Front growing, his letters ceased.

Last week Donald, wounded in the arm in Normandy, wrote from an emergency hospital in Lancashire, "I must tell you," he writes, "that I received Peace News right in the front line on June 13 and all my pals looked at it!"

"Fifteen minutes later our trench was plastered with mortars and shells, and Jerry put in an attack to annihilate us. We were surrounded and it was hand-to-hand fighting to get out.

"It was a hell of an experience to see our wounded screaming, some running in circles blinded. All my pals were killed and there was only one officer and myself who got out.

Tended by Germans

"Some Jerry 'First Aid' prisoners proved to be very considerate fellows. They tended me in the loft of an old French Chateau and they gave me cigarettes and chocolate from their own ration. 'You're too young to be here,' they said to me in perfect English.

"Well," concludes Donald, "I achieved my one hope of receiving Peace News in the front line."

I know he will look me up again when he comes home. But the cost of his sacrifice, and of those like him, can but spur me on to more willing service for the things that belong to peace.

### GETTING TO GRIPS

A POWERFUL case can be made out for the pacifist attitude towards war," writes the Christian News-Letter, "a far more powerful case than most of those engrossed by the desperate struggle for national existence are willing to recognize. But the case as commonly presented fails to come to grips with the fact that the struggle for power cannot be eliminated from history."

This is not the place to argue about that statement. There is salutary truth in it. The case for pacifism is too often superficially presented. To present it in its true depth, in the years when the fearful disillusion that will inevitably follow the war may open men's minds to its message, is the object of the Peace News fund.

This fortnight's contributions include two substantial collections of 3d. pieces: 275 and 258 respectively.

Contributions since July 7: £18 17s. 11d. Total to date: £5,405 5s. 0d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### "HELP GERMANY TO RECOVER"

A MAJORITY of Americans believe their government should help put Germany back on her industrial feet—even at the cost of continued rationing at home," reported the News Chronicle, on Monday.

The National Opinion Research Centre, of Denver University, has polled all 48 States on the subject. It reports today that 64 per cent. of those with opinions believe that the United States should provide active assistance in the industrial rehabilitation of the Reich.

"They hold this view because, in the long run, this country would benefit from such a policy, and because the announcement that such help would be forthcoming might speed the German surrender."

# LIBERATION THROUGH DEVASTATION

## BECAUSE ALLIES REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE

CAEN is a city of 50,000 inhabitants. Already, a week ago 5,000 of them had been killed in the process of liberation (Times, Jul. 12). Three-quarters of them are homeless (Daily Herald, Jul. 17). The process is not finished yet, because only half of the city is taken, and that half is under continuous German bombardment. So we may assume that 5,000 killed is an under-estimate. One in ten killed: no figure for the wounded.

The population of Greater London is about 8 millions. Mr. Churchill said 2,750 had been killed by flying bombs: roughly 1 in 3,000. If the deaths in London had been on the scale of the deaths in Caen, 800,000 Londoners would be dead today.

If the demonstrations of welcome by the inhabitants of Caen were not more massive, said the new Gaullist prefect of Calvados, it was because Caen was still under enemy bombardment.

London would not be jubilant if one in ten of its inhabitants had been killed.

No irony was intended in the final words of the correspondent's message. But the irony is there.

"The shape of things to come in France emerges more clearly from the ruins of Caen than it does elsewhere." (Times, Jul. 12.)

### Would we like it?

Two questions are uppermost in the minds of the soldiers in Normandy, says Alan Moorehead (Daily Express, July 15). The second of them is: "Were we on the right lines with our bombing of the Norman towns?"

"The capture of battered Caen itself brought the question of our bombing policy to a head. Even today, six days after the assault, there is an air of desperate weariness in the half-lifeless streets, and it almost seems that the city will never recover . . . The rats are multiplying.

"Those people who were in Caen at the time of the bombing claim that there were very few Germans quartered in the town."

In short, the bombing of Caen did not achieve any military objective. Liberation has meant devastation—nothing else. Is this appalling process to continue? Have Britons no imagination? Would they welcome such a process applied to themselves?

One thing, in the present posture of affairs is certain. The Germans could be negotiated out of France tomorrow, if only the will to do it were there.

### Vivisection of victory

Suppose Britain in the place of France. Suppose Canterbury had been "liberated" instead of Caen—let us suppose, by the Americans. Suppose we knew (as the average Frenchman knows) that the military power of the liberator was such that the invader could be negotiated out of the country and compelled to accept a just peace. Suppose that the Americans refused to do this, and insisted on smashing Germany by smashing our cities and our houses, and killing our countrymen. That is what we are doing in France.

In such a situation, what would be our attitude to America? All the heroics of Mr. Churchill notwithstanding, we should be saying to ourselves: "This brutal insensitiveness is unforgivable. Never, never will a real friendship between us be possible. They have treated us as though we

were sub-human: a corpus vile for vivisection. The vivisection of victory!"

### Gandhi's offer

MR. Gandhi has now offered to the Moslem League everything which it can justly claim. The areas which have a Moslem majority may decide after the war, by a plebiscite, whether they will form a completely independent State or be members of a federal India. In other words, Mr. Gandhi has changed his mind and now substantially accepts the Cripps offer.

But it is doubtful (1) whether Mr. Jinnah will accept Mr. Gandhi's proposal and (2) whether Mr. Churchill, in his present ascendancy mood, will allow the Cripps offer to stand. And Mr. Jinnah is likely to play Mr. Churchill's hand for him. This is apparently what Mr. Gandhi fears. "He felt that the British Government

were using Mr. Jinnah as a cloak for denying freedom to India" (News-Chronicle, July 15).

I do not find it easy, however, to reconcile Mr. Gandhi's reported criticism of the Cripps proposals—"they contemplated the perpetual vivisection of India"—with his present policy.

### Barrier to progress

It is hard for the Englishman to come to an objective judgment about India. The Indian correspondent of the Daily Herald, July 17, summing up after two years, records with mingled sympathy and resignation the desire of the cultivated Hindu that India should be left "to stew in its own juice." If this position is

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

### Observer's Commentary

## AUSTRALIA'S LEAD

# No post-war conscription

IT was officially stated on Jul. 11 that the Australian Government has proposed to abandon all forms of compulsory service for the Army, Navy and Air Force after the war, reported the Evening Standard on that date. The report added:

"The Commonwealth has already generally endorsed the principle of collective security, and is prepared to make whatever contribution is necessary by way of voluntary service.

"The Australian contribution is expected to be mainly Air Force and Army, both voluntarily enlisted in conformity with the British practice, except immediately before this war, when National Service was introduced as an emergency when war became inevitable."

## DANGERS FOR FUTURE IN FRENCH FAMINE

DESPITE the freak food situation in Normandy, the food position in France is desperate, especially in Paris and in the South.

In a lengthy article in the June issue of *La France Libre* the Fighting French expert, Colonel Dr. Vignal, recalls Dr. Kershner's words: "I have been, in the south of France, the spectator of the sad sight of a nation dying slowly from hunger."

"Since then," says Dr. Vignal, "the situation has got worse."

"The feeding of the people," he continues, "is all the more important because privations of all kinds and mental suffering have developed, especially among the town-dwellers, a vengeful mentality which may lead to serious and more than regrettable incidents if they see the liberating troops well provided for, while they—and above all their little ones—continue to suffer hunger. The endurance of suffering has its limits."

## "IMMENSE POTENTIALITIES"

# Flying-bombs versus humanity

by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

THE latest mark of the patriot is to work up indignation about the flying-bomb.

The Rev. D. R. Davies, Vicar of Emmanuel, West Dulwich, in big italics in an article in the Sunday Express, July 9, declares that the users of the flying bomb are anathema because they use it "at a time when it can serve no conceivable military purpose whatever." That is plain nonsense. A very obvious military purpose is achieved when the inhabitants of an enemy capital can be kept in a condition of nervous apprehension, and much of its military strength diverted to meeting the menace. In fact, the flying bomb is probably the best weapon for total war yet devised.

Gen. Eisenhower speaks of it without humbug or indignation. "It is" (he says) "a weapon for a nation robbed of air power. . . . It holds immense potentialities." So does Major Stewart, Air Correspondent of the Evening Standard:

"On its merits the flying bomb is a useful weapon of war.

"It has the power—which the crewed bomber has never yet shown itself to have—of sustaining an attack through all weathers. For weight of explosives dropped it is probably economical. It is not subject to the deviations caused by a sentient crew which may find it necessary to weave and to take other evasive action when flak and fighters become too menacing.

"It is a consumable store and therefore the moment a power-bomb crosses our coast line, the finest defences in the world must be incapable of causing the enemy a 'loss' and, whatever happens, there is a chance of the bomb causing us some damage."

The Rev. Mr. Davies talks nonsense of another sort in clamouring for deterrent reprisals.

"If we can compel Germany to pay ten lives for every English life that the flying bomb destroys, it will stop. And the experience of terror bombing, which Germany has not yet tasted, will sear the conscience of Germany for a thousand years."

To anyone who believes that Germany has not yet tasted terror-bombing, we commend an article in American "Life" (May 15) in which

two American girls, now repatriated to US, describe their experience of four obliteration raids on Leipzig. The distinction between obliteration-bombing and terror-bombing is farcical.

As Mr. George Orwell says, to pretend moral indignation over the flying-bomb in view of what the American and British bombers have been doing to Germany is really a "bit thick." That same statement is the occasion of more moral indignation from Mr. Driberg, MP. Mr. Orwell (he says) should leave such statements to "the Peace Pledgers"—presumably because, in Mr. Driberg's opinion, they have something like a monopoly of common honesty.

### A logical product

It is not really necessary to be a humbug to be a patriot. Unlike the Davieses and the Dribergs, the ordinary men and women of London, who suffer under the flying bomb, bear no particular grudge to the Germans for using it. It is, they know, part of the sorry game of total war: a consummation of its inherent tendencies.

Perhaps it may do more to bring a mad world to its senses than any other single achievement of man's pitiful combination of technical ingenuity and moral imbecility. That needed its pure symbol, uncontaminated by the element of personal courage and adventure which so distorts men's judgment of the airman's work. It is reasonable to suppose that in the next ten years practical devices for controlling the flying-bomb and increasing its range will have been perfected. Man has been presented with a simple working model of the civilization that will destroy him, unless he ceases to be an angry ape; ceases to

*Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven*

*As makes the angels weep* and becomes—not a pacifist, but plain human.

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
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All letters on other than editorial matters  
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## THE PLUNGE FOR PEACE

A RECENT book on "The Russian Army" (Gollancz) by Walter Kerr, an American newspaper correspondent returned from Moscow, describes not only the "fighting heart" of this conquering force but also "the severity of its training," its "iron discipline," and the "ruthless organization" of the civilian life of the country in the army's support. Russia, of course, also has the backing of Great Britain and the United States; but it appears that there is still very little real knowledge in this country of the military force to which we are willing to commit the custody of so much of Europe.

Reading these things we are reminded of the Seven Years' War, when a cynical sceptic figured in England as "the Protestant champion," and George Whitefield, preaching to the enthusiastic Methodists of London, hailed a Prussian victory as a crowning mercy. Frederick of Prussia also succeeded by the fighting heart of his troops, the severity of their training, their iron discipline, and ruthless organization in their support. True, the deeds of the efficient Prussian autocrat helped us to win our empire; but it may be said that one million British dead in 1914-18 paid the price of assisting to found Prussian leadership in Germany.

What is more universally deceitful than war and the war-like temper! Long enough after the event, every generation is wise. What is rare is wisdom when wanted. After making a first peace in 1744, Frederick said that to trust a reconciled enemy would be a capital error. In 1944, "Menander" of The Times says of the German people that it would be "suicide to trust them." Is the first statement typically Prussian, and the second typically British? Never mind. What is written over the story of the years is that trust (though rare) has begotten trust; in America, in South Africa, in Ireland at our doors. And frequent and mean and cowardly distrust has signed for peace and ordered more guns, its way to hell lacking even good intentions.

But it is not necessary to say that, historically, war has always failed. As little need we show that peace must always pay. Peace-making is neither a commercial undertaking nor a mathematical proposition. It is such an adventure as feeling men ever have been driven to make. It was said that freedom for slaves would not work, and, indeed, it has not always worked smoothly and well. But for the abolitionists it was enough to be convinced at heart that slavery was intolerable. Education has not answered expectations; yet still we are sure that ignorance is not to be put up with. Just as little did men allow any church to rule by force, even though the alternative became ecclesiastical chaos. Today particularly sensitive people (but not necessarily morally better people) begin to feel that if war, and the worse spirit of war, is final, then life is something which it is better to be out of. Since this last cannot be believed, we make the plunge for peace.

And we are sure that whatever failures lie ahead, nothing can be so disastrous as the trust in war. Man may be evil, but evil is not the last word. To stick to this truth of sense and goodness against the fears and follies of war, is our contribution, however small, at present, it may be.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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# On not letting principles get in the way

PROTESTS have greeted Mr. Churchill's statement that this is no longer an ideological war.

Many people, resenting this suggestion that their Crusade has been reduced to the status of a common or garden schemozzle, have curtly told Mr. Churchill to speak for himself, and are resolved to keep it ideological or, to coin a phrase, bust.

Nevertheless, this official announcement that the moral tone of the war has been lowered has caused considerable uneasiness. The question has been raised: Now that we've dropped our Principles, will Heaven's aid be withdrawn?

This question becomes ominous in the light of obvious attempts in certain quarters to discourage appeals for supramundane co-operation. I refer particularly to press criticisms of the Primate's appeals for special prayers for the Second Front.

Typical of these was a leader in the Sunday Dispatch. While agreeing that "we need every additional strength that can be drawn through spiritual solace," it said "it is necessary to adapt the spiritual to the practical, and here the summons to prayer calls for critical, though respectful, examination."

There's nothing new in that. Critical, though respectful, examination of ecclesiastical history shows that one of the Church's main jobs always has been to adapt the s. to the p., as a blancmange is adapted to the mould.

BUT the particular difficulty in this case, I gather, was that we shouldn't know for certain which was the real Second Front.

Mr. Churchill has warned us," continues the article, "that in order to deceive the enemy there will be many false alarms, feints and dress rehearsals. We shan't know whether this or that operation is the main attack. . . Suppose that on the first landing, the Churches proclaim the opening of the invasion proper, and

that the alarm proves to be false. The reaction might be grave, and in Allied and neutral countries might be disastrous."

One sees the danger. If we pray for the success of an operation that comes to nothing, it will give the impression that Heaven no longer favours our cause. Faith will slump, our spiritual stock will fall in neutral markets, and German confidence will revive.

There is no denying the difficulty. Nevertheless, we need not take too gloomy a view of the situation. In this matter of Heaven's will there are, fortunately, always a variety of interpretations to choose from. Permit me therefore to suggest a more reassuring view of the position.

IN the earlier stages of the war, when we were short of material munitions, it was necessary to convince ourselves of the nobility of our intentions in order to ensure that tenfold increase of strength which purity of heart automatically produces.

In other words, spiritual reinforcements were necessary to fill the gap until our industries were organized on a national scale and Lease-Lend transactions had got going.

But with the achievement of preponderance of armament, the need of Heavenly intervention became proportionately less urgent, and we were in a position to switch over to the alternative Basis of Faith—namely, that God is on the side of the Big Battalions.

Alternative reassurance is provided by Lady Apsley, MP, who in a letter to the Sunday Times protests at the wording of the prayers suggested . . . "particularly 'Cleanse both us and our enemies of hatred and covetousness.'"

"We have faults as a nation," says this distinguished legislatress, "of which too great a love of peace is perhaps the greatest, and unpreparedness for war the worst, but hate and covetousness are not besetting sins of the English."

Well, we have now absolved our

## LETTERS

### The future in France

ON June 16 "Observer" wrote: "There is no evidence that de Gaulle intends to challenge and to overthrow the anti-democratic forces in France—the financial and industrial cliques." Actually there is such evidence, in a speech delivered by Gen. de Gaulle on Apr. 20, 1943. Those of your readers who understand French can get it from the Fighting French HQ and read it for themselves. Those who do not, will perhaps accept my translation, as follows:

"A real democracy, in which neither the games of professional politicians nor the quagmires of intriguers shall hinder the working of the nation's representatives; in which, at the same time, the government, having received from the people the responsibility of governing it, shall be so organized as to enjoy sufficient power and a long enough life to discharge its duties in a manner worthy of France; that, first of all, is what the French people wishes to give itself."

"An economic and social system such that no monopoly and no coalition shall be able to exert pressure upon the State, nor decide the fate of individuals; a system in which, consequently, the principal sources of the communal wealth shall be either administered or at least controlled by the nation; one in which every Frenchman shall have at all times the chance to work, according to his abilities, in conditions such as to ensure for him and for his family a decent existence; a system in which free groupings of workpeople and technicians shall be organically associated with the conduct of businesses—such is the fruitful reform with which our country, made new again, will wish to relieve the sufferings of its sons."

A speech such as this, if it were made by Churchill, would be labelled "revolutionary."

Peace News will do its readers a great service if it makes known to them the facts. Ignorance of the facts is excusable in most of us—but not in a publicist like "Observer."

L. E. REES.

51 Mudford Rd., Yeovil, Somerset.

### Our responsibility

"Where there's a will there's a way." Judging from the content of the letters which appeared in Peace News (July 7) this is not so. We "are powerless to influence" and "the thing is completely out of our hands" and so on. If members of the Peace Pledge Union would respond to the appeal "that the whole

membership should consider their responsibility as citizens" (Harry Hilditch, July 7), they would realize that we can do something if we made a supreme effort.

What pacifist will deny that peace—any peace—is preferable to war? The real point is "What is the best way of ending the war?" and, more important, "What can we, as pacifists, do about it?" If the Allies continue to maintain their policy of unconditional surrender the German people will have no alternative but to support Hitler and hope for a miracle. The German soldier has no alternative but to fight a bitter retreat back into Germany leaving France—perhaps Norway, Denmark, Belgium—in utter ruin. Hundreds of thousands of lives must be lost for the sake of unconditional surrender. In these circumstances, is the pacifist satisfied merely to hope for an Allied victory?

Let us face up to it. The pacifist movement has not yet made the supreme effort to oppose "unconditional surrender"; has not yet supported the alternative presented by the Negotiated Peace Campaign. Let's stop being "respectable"—stop making excuses for our past inactivity. If we conscientiously object to war let us conscientiously oppose the war.

If, at this moment, the people of Britain see no alternative to, and support, the Government policy of unconditional surrender it is because we have failed them—and ourselves.

ALEX SMITH

### Victory and peace

I cannot hope for a speedy victory because only as a result of a negotiated peace can I see any reasonably good chance of a third war being prevented—a war which will cause even more suffering than the prolongation of this one. Everything points to the fact that the present Allied governments, if victorious, will impose a super-Versailles, which, together with the re-imposition of the financial methods of Wall Street in areas from which the Axis governments had excluded them, and the behests of the Soviet of that absolute power, the temptations of which are said to "corrupt absolutely," will provide as perfect a preparation for another conflict as it is possible to imagine. If the war does end in a speedy victory I shall be glad when it ends, but only because the worst peace—and I fear it will be the worst one—is always better, as long as it lasts, than the best war!

BEDFORD  
Cairnsmore. Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire.

### Offer to Southerners

May I have the privilege of space in your columns to say that members of the West Yorkshire Region of the PPU are anxious to provide hospitality for elderly people, mothers with children, or unaccompanied youngsters, from pacifist households in London or the south, desiring evacuation to homes where a non-belligerent atmosphere prevails. Full details of needs should be sent to me.

DENIS RILEY,  
Hon. Secretary, W. Yorkshire Region, P.P.U.  
13 Beech Ave., Horsforth, nr. Leeds.

by "OWLGLASS"

selves of our two main sins—love of peace and military unpreparedness. We have thus raised ourselves at least to the spiritual level of the Nazis, who hate peace, as Christians should, and prepared for war all the time.

That leaves us practically stainless, ideology or no ideology. Thus on three counts—biggest battalions, preparedness for war, and sinlessness—Heaven can hardly avoid giving us aid, and special prayers are unnecessary.

ONE further point: Now that the war is, officially, approaching its end, we have to prepare for the reconstruction of our national economy. And we are given to understand by Lord Selborne that after the war "Britain will have to live by her wits."

If this is correct—and Government spokesmen are doing their best to convince us that it is—the sooner we drop our ideologies the better. When living by one's wits, principles are a serious impediment. Particularly lack of covetousness.

Or so gangsters tell me.

### Words of Peace—82

## THE HOPE

I see my country, her churches and her schools, all in ruins. Yet, when the fire of war was spreading beyond her borders to seize first the neighbouring countries and then the whole of Europe, and threatening the whole Christian world with disaster and desolation, I had no greater comfort than I found in the ancient promises of God concerning the supreme and final light that should in the end conquer darkness. And if any human aid were needed for this, I thought it could only come from the better instruction of the young in all matters.

—Comenius, quoted by Gilbert Murray in "A Conversation with Bryce."

An irreparable loss has been sustained by Mitcham PPU group by the death of the group leader and secretary, Archie Tyler. Archie was very unassuming but carried out his duties very conscientiously, and it is almost entirely due to his efforts that Mitcham group survived the various vicissitudes of the war. Sebastian Saldanha, 54 Riverside Drive, Mitcham, is carrying on temporarily. Any correspondence should be addressed to him for the time being.

## By C. E. M. JOAD

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## TENTH SUMMONS FOR FIRE-GUARD OBJECTOR

Kenneth H. Sibley, political CO at St. Albans, is being prosecuted a tenth time for refusing fire-guard duties. He was to appear at St. Albans police court yesterday (July 20) for failing to do duty a month ago.

While this CO has been fined eight times and found not guilty on one occasion, he has not been sent to prison for his refusal.

### VAIDYA REJECTS DIRECTION

Suresh Vaidya, the Indian national CO, has been served with a direction to attend an interview by the Ministry of Labour under Defence Regulation 80B. He failed to attend but wrote to the Ministry making his position clear.

On May 12, Suresh Vaidya was recommended for discharge from the Army by the Third (London) Division of the Appellate Tribunal, and he was registered as a CO conditionally on undertaking full-time land, hospital or civil defence work. He had been sentenced to 98 days' hard labour while in the Army.

### ADVISORY BUREAUX

**Sunderland:** W. Bernard Collinson now "Ennismore," Thornhill Rd., Sunderland. (Same phones.)

**Taunton:** Individual adviser now Rev. J. W. Lee, The Spinney, Middle Way, Taunton.

## PEACE WEEK IN GLASGOW OPENED WITH BIG MEETING

From a correspondent

GLASGOW'S Peace Week, organized by the United Peace Campaign, commenced on Sunday, June 25, with a meeting in the Cosmo Cinema. Handbills urging socialists, pacifists, Christians, and co-operators to oppose "unconditional surrender" and demand a negotiated peace resulted in an attendance of more than five hundred people.

The meeting was addressed by Harry Hilditch, Sir Hugh S. Robertson (president, United Peace Campaign), and Guy A. Aldred; Oliver Brown occupied the chair. All four speakers were in excellent form and the case for negotiation received the wholehearted approval of the large audience.

### OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

Despite bad weather conditions, Harry Hilditch addressed two outdoor meetings.

The week-end before last, the Rev. Tom Pickering and Alex Smith addressed two of the largest outdoor peace meetings seen in Glasgow since the war. It can now safely be said that Glasgow is conscious of its "Peace Corner."

### MANCHESTER'S GOOD RESULTS

From a correspondent

The first meeting to be held on Manchester's "negotiated peace" platform since the opening of the Second

Front took place at Platt Fields Park on July 2, when Patrick Figgis was the speaker.

Mr. Figgis had an attentive crowd of between 200 and 300 for well over an hour, and made an able speech stressing the dangers likely to result from the adoption by the Government of the reprisals policy which was being urged upon it in certain quarters, as a result of the flying-bomb attacks.

Observers at the meeting considered that the Second Front had not materially affected the attitude of the public towards "negotiation" but a large number of questions was a feature of the meeting.

On the whole, there was satisfaction with the results of the meeting. Further meetings during July are to be held on Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. On July 16 Lionel Cowan will be the speaker, and John Barclay, it is hoped, on July 23. On July 30, Winifred Rawlins will speak.

### L.C.S. ARMISTICE MOTION

A motion declaring that the time has arrived for negotiations to bring the war to an end" and asking that an immediate armistice be sought for discussion of peace terms" will be discussed at the quarterly meetings of the London Co-operative Society next week. The motion has been signed by 332 members.

LCS members who can attend the meetings to speak and vote in support of the motion should communicate with Jack Gibson, PPU London Area Office (phone: EUSTON 4657), or with Will Coppin, 130 Balfour Rd., Ilford.

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the PPU: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

If you decide that you cannot support this or any other war, it will encourage others and may be helpful to yourself if you join the Union.

The Union stands for the rejection of war, for the method of seeking to overcome evil by good, and for the constant endeavour to create right relationships among men and nations.

## The case for and against pacifism

### VIEWS OF 75 AMERICAN PHILOSOPHERS EXAMINED

THE views of "75 distinguished American philosophers" on pacifism are presented by Dr. George Hartmann in the Philosophical Review (USA) for March. Dr. Hartmann summarizes and interprets their statements in answer to the following two questions:

1. What do you hold to be the strongest single argument against pacifism?
2. What do you deem to be the strongest single argument for pacifism?

The following version of his summary of the replies is taken from the pacifist weekly, *Pacifica Views*, of California, for May 19:

**STATEMENTS** against pacifism are listed together, followed by the "pro" statements. The writers are not identified by name, but in each list the answer by one man has the same number as his answer in the other list, so that his views on both questions may be considered together.

### AGAINST

Dr. Hartmann generalizes the contra arguments into 10 basic contentions: (1) Decision of whether or not a war ought to be fought should issue from judgments about the specific situation, with all factors considered, and should not be determined by some "absolute." (2) Pacifism is escapism from brutal reality. (3) Good people, in order to survive, are right in destroying Bad people. (4) Right needs might for its defence. (5) Pacifism is disloyalty to community obligations. (6) War is a beneficial evolutionary device and produces real psychological satisfactions. (7) Self-preservation alone justifies combat. (8) Pacifism is not arguable, for "conditionings" determine our conduct when confronted by war. (9) Pacifism aids or fosters aggression. (10) Pacifists can operate only when protected by militarists.

### FOR

The pro arguments contend:

(1) Pacifism would succeed were there enough pacifists. (2) Democratic civilization and war are ultimately incompatible. (3) War degrades its purported good aims. (4) The "means" of war cannot possibly

### DISAGREED WITH DRIBERG

"My note disagreeing with George Orwell's parallel between the flying-bomb and RAF bombing of Germany," wrote Tom Driberg in Reynolds News on Sunday, "excited 24 letters—of which 22 agreed with Orwell, accused me of 'hypocrisy' and 'peddling official dope.' Well, Well..."

Tom Driberg's original note was quoted in last week's Peace News and is referred to by John Middleton Murry in an article on page 1 of this issue.

Despite bad weather conditions, Harry Hilditch addressed two outdoor meetings.

The week-end before last, the Rev. Tom Pickering and Alex Smith addressed two of the largest outdoor peace meetings seen in Glasgow since the war. It can now safely be said that Glasgow is conscious of its "Peace Corner."

### MANCHESTER'S GOOD RESULTS

From a correspondent

The first meeting to be held on Manchester's "negotiated peace" platform since the opening of the Second

### I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

**P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS**  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

### PROGRAMME FOR P.P.U. SUMMER SCHOOL

Below is the programme of lectures for the P.P.U. summer school to be held at Spicelands, Devonshire, from Sat., Aug. 19, to Sat., Aug. 26:

SAT.	8 p.m. Introduction — by Harold Bing.
SUN.	9.45 a.m. Opportunity for worship. 10.30 a.m. Lecture by Ayana Deva: "The way forward in Far East." 8 p.m. Discussion on morning's lecture.
MON.	10 a.m. Lecture by Harold Bing: "The way forward in Europe." 8 p.m. Discussion.
TUES.	10 a.m. Lecture by Reginald Sorensen, MP: "The way forward in Gt. Britain." 2.15 p.m. Lecture by Wilfred Welslock: "The way forward in British agriculture." 8 p.m. Discussion on the two lectures.
WED.	8 p.m. Lecture by John Hoyland: "The way forward in India," followed by discussion.
THURS.	10 a.m. Three addresses by Laurence Housman, Donald Port, and Patrick Figgis on "The way forward in the P.P.U." 8 p.m. Discussion.
FRI.	10 a.m. Lecture by Maurice Rowntree: "The way forward for the individual." 8 p.m. Discussion.
SAT.	4 p.m. End of Summer School.

Owing to a cancellation, there is a vacancy for one man at the summer school. Applications should be sent without delay to John Barclay, 64 Ellerton Rd., London, S.W.18.

### MICHAEL TIPPETT PAMPHLET IN P.N. SERIES

The next Peace News pamphlet, which will be distributed with the Aug. 4 issue, will be by Michael Tippett, the notable young composer whose oratorio "A child of our time" received the high commendation of nearly all critics when it was given its first performance at the Adelphi Theatre in March. The pamphlet is an artist's declaration of faith in the values that make for peace.

If you do not regularly receive these 1d. pamphlets ask your distributor or write to Peace News office.

### PLEASE REMEMBER

—that postal deliveries are liable to delay when sending advertisements or other copy to Peace News. We cannot accept responsibility for non-publication of copy which has arrived later than Monday, even if posted in what would normally be good time.

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Owing to pressure of space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

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FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

WANTED URGENTLY: unfurnished house, flat, cottage. Ten miles radius Milford, Surrey. C.O. doing hotel work. Box 520.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

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HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION wanted for lady and boy (7). One week, August. Yorkshire preferred. Newsome, 15 Holderness Rd., Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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**RE-USE ENVELOPES**—with Peace News economy labels. 1s. for 100, 8s. for 1,000. Order from your local distributor or direct from P.N. Office.

#### LITERATURE, etc.

**QUAKERISM.** Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

**WALTHAMSTOW REGIONAL** Thurs., Jul. 27, 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bushwood, Leytonstone. G. Pittcock-Buss: "Individual liberty and controlled planning." Chairman, E. C. Redhead.

**WELWYN, HERTS.** Garden party. "Wylways." The Avenue. Patrick Figgis "Peace possibilities." Bring and-buy sale. Tea. Sat., Jul. 29, at 3 p.m.

**THE NORTHAMPTON** Breakfast. The August Breakfast will be held on Sun., July 30, to be addressed by The Hon. Jant M. Margesson, who will speak on "The price of peace."

**"CAN THE** Christian Church abolish war?" Dr. Belden at Y.M.C.A., Station Terrace, Cardiff, on Wed., Jul. 26, 7 p.m.

#### PERSONAL

**CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB.** A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

**BROTHER AND SISTER,** both C.O.s single, visiting Aberystwyth for holidays, would like to contact any C.O.s in that area with a view to friendship. Box 521.

#### SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

**ODAM HILL** School and Children's Farm, S. Molton, Devon, needs married handyman (exempt position) end July. Wife help in school. One or two children welcomed.

**URGENT:** outside representative for typewriter business. Salary and commission. Owner, C.O., anticipating prison. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

**SIBFORD SCHOOL**, nr. Banbury. Housekeeper and domestic helpers wanted. Sibford is a co-educational boarding school in the heart of the country and is governed by the Society of Friends.

**WANTED, MARRIED couple:** man market-gardening, preferably able to drive van; wife 3 hours' house-work daily. Cottage unfurnished. Box 522.

## U.S.A. backed a dictator

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

granted, as in our opinion it must be, we can acknowledge the force, while denying the political relevance, of the opinion of those who urge, as Professor A. V. Hill, MP, did lately, that the first need of all in India is better health. Only half the people born in India reach the age of 22.

"According to our standard there ought to be 7 times as many doctors, 20 times as many midwives, 70 times as many health visitors, and 100 times as many nurses as there are even taking no account of the fact that ill-health is several times as common and births 2½ times as frequent as in England."

The chief difficulty in the way of improving this position is the unwillingness of women to enter the health services; and that is a consequence of the conservative religious prejudice in which John Hoyland (in his recent book) saw the chief barrier to Indian progress.

### Ecclesiastical logic

DR. Mervyn Haigh, Bishop of Winchester, calls the flying bomb "a devilish device," which will "certainly increase the severity of terms upon Germany."

Gen. Fuller, in the New English Weekly (July 13), points out that it is no more devilish than any other projectile weapon. And that, of course, is what it is: the most highly developed form of projectile. It incorporates in the projectile some of the principles of the aeroplane. It is no more indiscriminate than the rifle-bullet. "How many men," asks Gen. Fuller, "even on the battlefield, are disabled by aimed shots?"

That the employment of this legitimate weapon of total warfare is held to justify severity in the terms of peace imposed on Germany only indicates the collapse of elementary fair-play and common-sense induced in the mind of an eminent ecclesiastic by war.

### South American way

U.S. opinion was shocked by Churchill's kind words for Franco. US itself has had kind words in plenty for sundry ruthless dictators in South America, provided they kept in with American big business. Fresh in the memory is the miserable story of Bolivia, where US influence was exercised to prevent the virtual slaves in the tin mines improving their lot, and where US refused to recognize the new revolutionary government, which does propose to improve conditions.

Now Time (June 26) tells the shocking story of Dictator Ubico in Guatemala—"one of the world's most

flagrant tyrannies." Ubico was "elected" in 1931 with US blessing.

Guatemalans noted that at the same time the potent United Fruit Co. wanted a juicy concession which the previous regime had refused to grant on United Fruit's terms. Ubico's first important act as President was to force the assembly to pass the concession bill.

"Three years later Ubico entrenched himself, cancelled all legal limits on his tenure. Guatemalans never forgot the massacre in which scores of students, workers, prominent citizens were seized in their houses, killed without formality. Hundreds were thrown into prison, tortured, executed. Cried Ubico, admirer of Hitler's 1934 blood-purge: 'I am like Hitler. I execute first and give trial afterwards!'

### "Good neighbour"

Ubico, under this reign of terror, has acquired a vast amount of landed property. He is the biggest land-owner in Guatemala.

"As he grows richer, he grows more solicitous for property rights. His latest legal masterpiece (Decree 2795, Apr. 22, 1944) exempts landowners or their representatives from criminal responsibility for acts they commit against trespassers caught gathering game, fruit, or firewood". In practice, a land-owner may kill a hungry Indian caught plucking berries; he may kill a refractory labourer, no questions asked."

This sinister ogre "rates in the official US books as a sturdy Central American Good Neighbour." He declared war on Germany after Pearl Harbour, like his fellow-ogre Dictator Martinez of Salvador. But Martinez has been overthrown, and the US did not intervene to save him, and the Guatemalans are beginning to hope.

Actually, Ubico has now "resigned" and has been succeeded by a Gen. Ponce, head of "a military junta." The new government has been recognized by US. (Time, July 10.)

### The clue

Now where are we? US is angry at Churchill's kind words to Franco, yet it supports even more ruthless tyrannies in Latin America. What is the cause of the contradiction? Partly of course because US shares the good old British practice of combining democracy with imperialism. But there is a particular cause for this particularly flagrant example: that is, the stubborn resistance of the Argentine to US big business and dollar-diplomacy. The Argentine is therefore depounced as "Fascist," but not Brazil or any of the smaller but more hideous set-ups.

Since the Hispanidad of Franco Spain is held to have inspired the military-nationalist revolution in the Argentine, kind words for Franco are (as they were perhaps intended to be) kind words for Peron in the Argentine. And thus US big business exploits the genuine loathing of the Franco régime felt by idealist Americans in order to defend worse tyrannies in the minor States of Latin America. A pretty, but characteristic, modern moral mess.

## EXILED GOVERNMENTS BACK KERSHNER PLAN

### U.S. officials sympathetic toward food relief

Dr. Howard Kershner's plan would include only children under fifteen. It is viewed favourably by the representatives of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. All four have made representations to the State Department urging limited feeding programmes.

All stressed that their "undergrounds" favour a relief programme, properly safeguarded.

THESE statements by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley in an article in Life (USA) written before the announcement that these four countries have presented a plan to feed children between the ages of four and fifteen go far to confirm the growing belief that the "new" scheme is virtually identical with the Kershner Plan for food-relief in German-occupied territory.

The same writer confirms the expectation that the Kershner Plan, unlike smaller marginal schemes, would demand control over domestic produce and agreements governing Nazi contributions to the food supply of these countries.

Citing the precedent of the successful Greek relief experiment, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley states categorically that "our State Department is satisfied that the Germans have not profited. They have lived up to their agreement to send in compensatory shipments to replace native produce used by their forces."

Recently, in conversation with interested individuals (State) Department officials have held out hope

that a feeding programme may be begun in the near future, if only on a very small scale," she writes. "The War Department is no longer echoing . . . the British arguments against any small breach in the blockade.

### "NO MILITARY ARGUMENT AGAINST"

"A full year ago five high-ranking officers in the Pentagon Building, responsible for the planning operations of the European theatre, told an advocate of relief that they saw no military argument against a properly controlled programme. More recently, in March of this year, another inquirer was assured by one of the three highest civilian heads of the War Department that he had 'no objection to offer' to such a relief programme. Whether our government has as yet won the assent of blockade-minded Prime Minister Churchill to a limited relief programme . . . is not public information."

The strength of ministerial opposition may perhaps be measured by the statement attributed to the Swedish Government spokesman, Axel Gjores, that "When in a few instances collective consignments (of food parcels) have been sent to (Norway) without agreement by the Allies, the Swedish imports from the West have been correspondingly affected."

### SECOND FRONT STOPPED FOOD FOR BELGIUM

It is not generally known in this country that "Two thousand tons a month of fish and vegetable oils have been brought from Portugal into Belgium . . . The imported food has added 100 calories a day to the diet of 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 children, adolescents and invalids in cities and industrial centres. Served in canteens by the Belgian Red Cross and the Winter Help Fund, the food has not benefited the Nazis, the Underground has reported." The Food Relief Campaign learns that since the attack on Normandy this service from Portugal to Belgium has been terminated, and it is uncertain whether or not it will be resumed (which might be possible by an alternative route).

### "DUTY OF DEFENCE"

The proposal recently made in the House of Lords that children should in future be taught that it is their duty to defend their country was considered by the Youth Committee of the PPU at its last meeting.

The committee decided—partly as a result of advice received from a sympathetic MP—that to draw attention to the matter at the moment would probably do more harm than good. It had reason to believe that no such instruction would actually be sent to teachers. A subsequent answer given in the House of Commons did not, in fact, give the assurance asked for in the Lords. But the Youth Committee is watching developments and will both take and recommend action if later it seems to be called for.

### PACIFIST SERVICE?

The first mention of the flying-bomb at a CO's tribunal to be reported to Peace News comes from Nottingham, where an objector was asked on Jul. 14: "If a corps were formed to fire at these pilotless planes, would you join? You would not be taking life but saving it."

The CO replied: "I would like to keep out of the organization."

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### Spanish Revolution Anniversary

19th JULY 1936-1944

### PUBLIC MEETING

at the Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, on Sunday, July 23rd, at 6 p.m. Admission free.

Anarchist Federation of Britain and C.N.T. (Spanish Revolutionary Union)

Speakers: J. Garcia Pradas (C.N.T.), Tom Brown (A.F.B.), J. Delso de Miguel (C.N.T.), Ken Hawkes (A.F.B.). Chairman: Mat Kavanagh.

"Our Path is Struggle—Our Will is Freedom"

## PACIFISM AND UNITY

by the Rev.

R. H. Le Messurier

ultimately stronger than that of evil.

This I believe is the fundamental philosophical basis of pacifism, whether it be of the Christian or any other type. Pacifists believe that by living the good life and refusing to take part in evil, they are aligning themselves with the inherent and ultimately dominant power of goodness in the world. Though on a short-term view they may seem temporarily to fail (and this weighs heavily in times like the present); on the long-term view they are on the right side and their cause will ultimately prevail. Pacifism in this sense may therefore be defined as goodness in action at whatever cost.

Perhaps such thoughts may help to resolve the apparent paradox that there seems to be no specifically pacifist way of dealing with any particular form in which evil may manifest itself. So-called pacifist solutions of many problems are often identical with those put forward by non-pacifists. But what is essential to the solution as proposed by the pacifist is that the spirit in which the solution is applied must make for unity; and therefore (on the basis of our description above) be "good in itself."

To the pacifist the supreme tragedy of war is that it irrationally disintegrates and destroys that which

he feels should be united. But the pacifist spirit is not confined only to the evil of military war. Wherever he finds disunity he must throw himself on the side of integrating goodness—in the nation, in business, in the Church, the school, the home or the individual.

At first sight his adoption of the pacifist way of life only serves to increase the disunity. He may find himself separated still further from his family, his friends or his fellow-countrymen. But this "extra" division is in fact an illusion; for by accepting pacifism and ordering his life on a faith in the unifying power of goodness, he retains his unity both with the world at large and with those who now seem to be separated from him. *He preserves unity in his heart.* By so doing he challenges the very grounds on which others try to disassociate themselves from him, shows such things as nationalism, capitalism, militarism, etc., to be evil where they lead people to divisions, and appeals to that sense of true goodness which he believes to exist in every man as part of his heritage in a universe ultimately good.

So, while there may be no specifically pacifist solution to any given problem, there is a specifically pacifist approach to these problems, and a unifying spirit which will impregnate any given solution, challenging the otherwise divided spirit of man to work with his compeers in spite of differences.

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